

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NEA-06 SP-02 NSC-07 NSCE-00 PM-03

IO-03 EB-03 INR-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 DRC-01 RSC-01

SAJ-01 EA-07 /069 W

----- 038963

R 081255Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3056

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEXASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 4491

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SW

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SUBJECT PRIME MINISTER PALME AND THE SWEDISH LINE ON SUPERPOWER

CONDOMINIUM

REF: (A) STOCKHOLM A-264

(B) STOCKHOLM 3839

(C) STOCKHOLM 4337

(D) STOCKHOLM 4140

(E) STOCKHOLM 4410

1. REVERBERATIONS CONTINUE TO BE FELT IN SWEDEN AND, TO SOME EXTENT, ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE, FROM PRIME MINISTER PALME'S APPARENT CAMPAIGN TO IMPRESS UPON THE SMALLER EUROPEAN NATIONS THE DANGERS TO THEM ARISING FROM SUPER-POWER COOPERATION. THIS THEME WAS SET FORTH FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH IN THE NORTHERN SWEDISH TOWN OF PITEA ON AUGUST 4 (REF A). IN THAT SPEECH, THE PRIME MINISTER CHARGED THAT THE SUPERPOWERS CLAIM THAT "THEY HAVE THE RIGHT AND ALMOST AN OBLIGATION TO INTERVENE IF A LOCAL CONFLICT TENDS TO DEVELOP INTO A WORLD CONFLAGRATION... THIS WAY OF THINKING INVOLVES CERTAIN COMPLICATIONS AND DANGERS FOR SMALL STATES," ADDING THAT IN THEIR OVERRIDING CONCERN TO AVOID NUCLEAR WARFARE, THE SUPERPOWERS MAY ALSO ATTEMPT TO FREEZE THE STATUS QUO.

2. IN THE WEEKS SINCE THE PITEA SPEECH, PRIME MINISTER PALME HAS EMBARKED ON A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH LEADERS OF OTHER SMALL NATIONS WITH WHOM HE HAS REPORTEDLY ADVANCED THE THEME OF THE DANGERS TO THESE COUNTRIES POSED BY THE SOVIET-AMERICAN "HEGEMONY." DURING THIS PERIOD HE HAS MADE AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE HAGUE, RECEIVED FINNISH PRIME MINISTER SORSA, AND IS ABOUT TO MAKE VISITS TO CANADA AND ALGIERS TO MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU AND PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE. (REPORTEDLY A MEETING WITH FRENCH PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING IS PLANNED, TO BE HELD ON THE RETURN LEG OF THE VISIT TO ALGERIA IN NOVEMBER.)

3. IN ADDITION, OTHER OFFICIALS IN THE PALME GOVERNMENT HAVE REPEATED VARIATIONS OF THIS THEME IN INTERNATIONAL FORA, RANGING FROM UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE THORSSON'S CONFIDENTIAL

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SPEECHES AT THE GENEVA SESSIONS OF THE CCD, TO MORE SUBTLE CRITICISM OF THE SUPERPOWER ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE DEVELOPING WORLD BY FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT MINISTER SIGURDSEN AT ECOSOC AND COMMERCE MINISTER FELDT TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WORLD BANK. FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON, IN HIS SPEECH TO THE UNGA ON SEPTEMBER 25, (REF C) WARNED THAT AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS "ENTAILS PROBLEMS FOR STATES AND PEOPLES WHOSE LEGITIMATE

INTERESTS MAY NOT BE DULY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT."

4. TO BE SURE, THIS CRITICAL VIEW OF THE DANGERS INHER-
ENT IN SUPERPOWER COLLABORATIONS HAS NOT GONE UNCHALLENGED.
THE PRIME MINISTER EARLIER HAD INFORMED ME OF SOVIET
OBJECTIONS TO THIS THEME (REFB), AND NORWEGIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER FRYDENLUND, IN AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO MR.
PALME'S LINE, TOLD THE UNGA LAST MONTH THAT "TO TRY AND
CONSTRUE AN ARTIFICIAL SCHISM OR AN INHERENT HOSTILITY
BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS AND THE SMALL NATIONS CAN HARDLY
BENEFIT WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION." WITHIN SWEDEN,
THE MAJOR CRITICISM OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S THEME HAS
COME, AS ANTICIPATED, FROM THE MODERATE PARTY. SPEAKING
BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN STRASBOURG ON SEPTEMBER 27,
MODERATE PARTY LEADER GOSTA BOHMAN OBSERVED THAT "THERE
ARE STATESMEN WHO FEAR THAT THE STABILITY BETWEEN THE
SUPERPOWERS, WHICH DETENTE POLICIES DEPEND ON, CONSTITUTES
A THREAT AGAINST THE SMALL NATIONS AND CAN PRESERVE
EXISTING INJUSTICES. BUT I DO NOT THINK THAT IS POSSIBLE
TO SAY IN GENERAL TERMS THAT THE DETENTE BETWEEN THE TWO
SUPERPOWERS TENDS TO PRESERVE EXISTING NATIONAL AND SOCIAL
INJUSTICES IN THE WORLD...OR THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE
SMALL NATIONS ARE JEOPARDIZED.

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5. IT SEEMS CLEAR FROM THE APPARENT ORCHESTRATION OF
THE THEME OF SUPERPOWER COLLABORATION THAT THE WORD HAS
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GONE OUT FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE TO THE MEMBERS
OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO STRESS THIS POINT IN THEIR FOREIGN
POLICY SPEECHES, PARTICULARLY THOSE GIVEN IN FOREIGN
FORA. THERE MAY BE SEVERAL MOTIVES BEHIND MR. PALME'S
CAMPAIGN; AS MENTIONED IN AN EARLIER MESSAGE (REF D),
THE SMALLER EUROPEAN POWERS APPEAR TO BE GROPING FOR
SOME KIND OF "EUROPEAN SOLUTION," AND PALME APPARENTLY
BELIEVES THE CURRENT EUROPEAN ANXIETIES PRESENT AN
OPPORTUNITY TO RALLY THE SMALLER POWERS AGAINST THE
ALLEGED DANGERS ARISING FROM A US-SOVIET CONDOMINIUM.
PALME IS WELL AWARE OF THE SUSCEPTIBILITY OF THE SMALL
POWERS, WRESTLING WITH MASSIVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
PROBLEMS AND FACED WITH DEVELOPMENTS OVER WHICH THEY HAVE
NO CONTROL, TO WARNINGS THAT THEIR BASIC INTERESTS ARE
BEING INJURED BY A SUPERPOWER CONDOMINIUM. UNDOUBTEDLY
HE PLANS TO PLAY THIS CARD TO THE HILT.

6. SUCH A THEME ALSO ACCORDS WITH SWEDEN'S COMMERCIAL
INTERESTS IN ITS EFFORTS TO PERSUADE THE EUROPEANS TO
PURCHASE THE VIGGEN AS THE STARFIGHTER SUCCESSOR INSTEAD OF THE
US OR FRENCH AIRCRAFT. IN THE COMPETITION THE SWEDES
HAVE PRESENTED THE VIGGEN AS THE "MORE EUROPEAN" OF
THE COMPETITORS AND THEIR OFFSET PACKAGE AS THE MOST
"SOCIALY CONSCIOUS" (REF E). IN THE UNLIKELY
EVENT THAT THE VIGGEN WERE CHOSEN OVER THE US AND FRENCH

COMPETITORS, IT WOULD BE A TREMENDOUS BOON, NOT ONLY TO THE SWEDISH ECONOMY, BUT TO THE NATIONAL PRESTIGE AS WELL. BEYOND THIS, HOWEVER, IS THE DESIRE OF THE SWEDES NOT TO BE ISOLATED FROM THE MAIN CURRENTS OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AT A TIME OF GREAT FLUX AND UNCERTAINTY ON THE CONTINENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE VERY PARTICIPATION OF THE SWEDES IN THE BIDDING FOR THE STARFIGHTER SUCCESSOR CONTRACT HAS BROUGHT SWEDEN CLOSER TO EUROPE; THE VISIT HERE OF THE DEFENSE MINISTERS OF FOUR NATO COUNTRIES IS UNPARALLELED IN RECENT SWEDISH HISTORY, AND HAS DELIGHTED THE PRO-EUROPEAN SWEDISH INDUSTRIALISTS.

7. IN SHORT, THE SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER APPARENTLY BELIEVES EUROPEAN-- AND WORLD--CONDITIONS ARE RIPE FOR NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE AREA OF SMALL POWER COOPERATION, CONFIDENTIAL

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BASED ON THE PREMISE OF PROTECTING SMALL POWER INTERESTS AGAINST THE SUPERPOWERS. WHETHER MR. PALME'S THINKING HAS CRYSTALIZED REGARDING HOW, OR EVEN WHETHER, SUCH COOPERATION SHOULD BE FORMALIZED, I WOULD STRONGLY DOUBT. UNDOUBTEDLY MR. PALME SEES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SWEDEN TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN CONTRIBUTING TO SUCH DEVELOPMENTS WITH HIMSELF IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE MOVEMENT AS A KIND OF DE FACTO SPOKESMAN. TO BE SURE, THERE ARE NATURAL LIMITS TO THE APPEAL OF SMALL POWER COOPERATION, AND THE SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER IS WELL AWARE THAT THE SMALLER NATO NATIONS ARE NOT GOING TO EXCHANGE THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE FOR SOME KIND OF VAGUE COOPERATION OF SMALL POWERS.

8. IN MY CONVERSATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD, I INTEND TO CONTINUE TO DISCUSS WITH HIM THE DIRECTION IN WHICH HE INTENDS TO FURTHER DEVELOP THIS CONCEPT OF SMALLPOWER COOPERATION AND TO PROVIDE HIM US VIEWS ON DETENTE IN THE CONTEXT OF US RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS AND CONCERNS OF SMALL NATIONS. STRAUSZ-HUPE

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Message Attributes

Automatic DecapTIONing: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRIME MINISTER, DETENTE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 OCT 1974
DecapTION Date: 28 MAY 2004
DecapTION Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STOCKH04491
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740285-0348
From: STOCKHOLM
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741062/aaaacayo.tel
Line Count: 266
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: (A) STOCKHOLM A-264
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 APR 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <29 JUL 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRIME MINISTER PALME AND THE SWEDISH LINE ON SUPERPOWER CONDOMINIUM
TAGS: PFOR, SW, (PALME, OLOF)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005